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Jack Kemp, American Socialist

by Jeffrey Tucker

After Bob Dole's "smart choice" of Jack Kemp as running mate, the media celebrated wildly—the first sign something had gone very wrong. They said Kemp adds excitement, youth, and jazz to the dreary septuagenarianism of the Dole ticket (if only because of Kemp's perpetual adolescence). They called Kemp the darling of the conservatives (sorry fellas, that was 15 years ago). They said Kemp sends a message of "inclusion" of minorities, women, etc. (with an implicit message of exclusion to anyone who fundamentally questions the ruling order).

The media, on the other hand, love this guy, and always have. But what does the choice of Kemp really mean, besides signaling that Dole was desperate? It is a punch in the nose to anti-government libertarians, anti-unionists, guns-rights advocates, anti-immigrationists, hard-right cultural conservatives, civil-rights skeptics, anti-welfarists, serious decentralists, foreign-policy isolationists, and anyone else who is fed up with the politics of compromise—which means most of the delegates who gathered in San Diego and much of the voting public.

For many years, Kemp's speeches have been harangues against anyone to his right, which means practically everyone in the party. A *New York Times* poll showed that only 3 percent of the delegates in San Diego favored affirmative action (which Kemp heartily endorses), while 60 percent want to repeal anti-discrimination laws altogether (a position Kemp regards as racist).

Nobody in the Republican Party so unashamedly advocates high and higher government spending, open immigration, monetary inflation (which he strangely mixes with calls for a phony gold standard), welfare redistribution, quotas, foreign military interventionism, foreign aid, presidential abuse of power, centrally directed demographic reshuffling, global trade treaties, and, above all, racial pandering and civil-rights egalitarianism.

That's why his reputation among grass-roots conservatives has been on the decline for years. Indeed, he's flopped among Republican voters every time he's sought the presidency. Despite the outward smiles of Republicans, most everyone understands that Kemp is a mixed-bag at best. He has plenty of enemies in the party and in the country, and, by the end of the campaign, he'll have many more.

The neoconservatives and liberals in the party hope that Kemp will remake the party in their image. That danger does exist, for Jack Kemp is at least temporarily the loudest voice on the right (meaning he can't be shut up).

On the other hand, Kemp's notoriously huge ego, now inflated to vast new heights, has long been his worst enemy. If the ticket goes down in flames, the camera-hogging

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P.C. Watch

True Integration

A long-time charge against civil-rights activists was that they would not be satisfied until there was no "discrimination" whatsoever, even in marriage. Their real agenda was not equal legal rights, opponents said, but a radical new ethic in which all races become one through intermarriage.

This charge has been denied at each major stage of American racial history. The abolitionists said they wanted only basic rights. So did the integrationists, and those who wanted to repeal state-level anti-miscegenation laws. Even Martin Luther King denied the charge. "The Negro," he told *Playboy* "is not pressing... to marry the sisters of those who have injured him."

Yet today, armed with new data showing that interracial mar-

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riages have increased (1.7% of all marriages in 1960 to 5.9 percent today), what is the verdict from the pundit class? That this trend is a sign that the goal of the civil-rights movement is being fulfilled.

"Positive change is in the air," write neocons Douglas Besharov of the American Enterprise Institute and Timothy Sullivan of Southern Illinois University. This "strong, unambiguous trend toward integration" is the "best hope for the future of American race relations."

The strongest opposition to intermarriage comes not from white men, but from black women.

"Young blacks and whites are meeting, falling in love, and getting married at a rate of more than one out of 10," neocon columnist Mona Charen writes. "Is there any better evidence of a willingness to extend not just tolerance, but love, across the color line than that?"

Thus equal legal rights is not enough. To be truly tolerant, you must strive to be the parent of mixed-race children. True intolerance and racism means the desire to perpetuate the existence of races at all.

Is the campaign an attempt to reverse the message sent by the catastrophic O.J. marriage? Perhaps, but it leaves some facts out. Most black-white unions, almost always a black man and a white woman, involve a second marriage. Most high-profile cases involve a professional black man leaving his black wife to marry a white woman. This helps explain why the strongest opposition to intermarriage comes not from white men, but from black women.

Hotlanta

The media were mighty protective about the politically correct Atlanta police, initially helping to cover up their failure to relay the warning they received 23 minutes before the Olympic bomb went off.

After the fact, the bomber was described by the police as a "white man" from the tape of his 911 call. But isn't it "racist" to claim that you can tell a man's race from his voice?

Tom Brokaw, in discussing the bomb, said it was "crude," unlike those made by the "genius Theodore Kaczynski." The media love their eco-murderer. Why do I think that no Ay-rab or "militia" bomber will ever be described on NBC as a "genius"?

Notice how, with no evidence, the Atlanta bomber was immediately linked to the militias. Yet the so-called viper militia in Arizona resisted the urgings of a government agent provocateur to rob banks, and therefore had to be arrested for allegedly discussing how to blow up government buildings in case of a totalitarian or UN takeover of America. The Washington state militia members were also arrested for discussing this forbidden topic in their living room.

The media hysteria about "terrorism"—when the actual terrorism of street crime is ignored for reasons of political correctness—ended when it looked as if the Atlanta bomber was connected to the government's security apparatus.

What followed was hand wringing over the chance that a perhaps innocent man had been named and smeared by the police and media as the bomber. This has never been a concern with any militia member accused of a crime.

I didn't see much of the most P.C. Olympics in history, but from what I did see, and from the *New York Times* coverage, I wouldn't have known if any white males competed. Everything was women or "athletes of color." The female "Dream Team" was the low point.

Kill Whitey

The vast number of black on white hate crimes continues to be suppressed by the media, while a white sticking his tongue out at a black is international news. During the Olympics, two off-duty Indiana National Guardsmen were walking in Atlanta when a black man sprang out of some bushes and shot each one in the head. One died, the other remains in critical condition. You never heard of this. But imagine the coverage in the entirely unlikely event of the reverse.

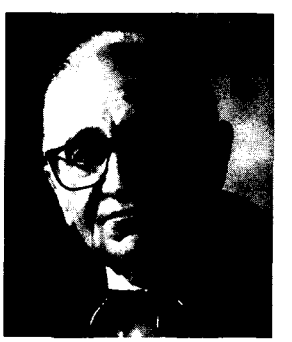
Nine-One-One

The chaos at Atlanta police headquarters was revealed when the transcript of the 911 call warning of the Olympic bombing was finally released.

911 operator: "You know the address to Centennial Park?"

Police dispatcher: "Girl, don't ask me to lie to you."

Operator: "I tried to call ACC [the police command center] and ain't nobody answering the phone, but I just got this man called talking about there's a bomb set to go off in 30 minutes in Centennial Park."



Dean of the Austrian School of economics, founder of modern libertarianism, and restorer of the Old Right, Murray N. Rothbard (1926-1995) was a one-man army of liberty. The *RRR* is inspired by his spirit, and dedicated to his vision.

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Dispatcher: "Oh, Lord, child. One minute, one minute..., uh, ok, wait a minute, Centennial Park, you put it in and it won't go in?"

Operator: "No, unless I'm spelling Centennial wrong. How are we spelling 'Centennial'?"

To enter the call into the 911 computer system, the operator needed an address. The park, which had been created just for the Olympics, was not in the system. So, eventually, the operator called police at the park to get the address, but *not* to report the bomb threat, since that wasn't procedure. Neither was it procedure to go yell across the room to the ACC, where they weren't answering the phone.

Sub-Standard No Longer?

What's happened to the *Weekly Standard*? Its politics are still rotten, although even there the writing has improved, but the cultural side of the magazine is now pretty good. It can't be no-talent minicons Bill Kristol and John Podhoretz, who've been botching the job since the beginning.

Here's what happened: the magazine was sinking. No one was renewing, and new subscriber mail was bombing. So foreign owner Rupert Murdoch took away day-to-day control from Kristol and Podhoretz. And it shows, Rupe, it shows.

LPism

At its convention, the Libertarian Party came around the RRR position, and repealed its past support of the anti-free trade treaties Nafta and Gatt. That's good, as was presidential nominee Harry Browne's speech. But the spirit of the old LP was present as well.

In her speech, vice presidential nominee Joe Jorgensen said that "Republican politicians give us the political equivalent of 1-900 phone sex. They tell us that we are really special. They ask us what we really want, and tell us that they want it too. Then they start breathing heavy, and get excited about what we want. They tell us their fantasy for us. They tease us and tempt us. They arouse our passion. They tell us how much they want it, and how good it's going to be. When we hang up from the 1-900 Republican tax cut fantasy line, we realize three things—they cost us a lot of money, the real thing is a lot more satisfying, and they are never going to come over." This quote, by the way, was highlighted by the LP newspaper.

Tattoo Me or Else

Adam Gray, owner of a tattoo parlor, has been fined by the Ohio Civil Rights Commission for refusing to decorate the body of a man with AIDS. Now tattooing involves sticking a needle hundreds of times into the skin, to inject colored inks. Blood and lymph fluid are all over the place.

But Gray was supposed to risk his life, maybe even commit suicide, to serve the phony morality of anti-discrimination law. In addition to the $150 fine, Gray was supposed to post a sign in his shop admitting that he is a "discriminator" and promise not to criticize the Civil Rights Commission. So far, he has spent $50,000 in legal feels appealing the wit's end ruling. (Mike Royko, *Washington Times*, 8/4/96)

The "black motorist" (actually, drunk driver) whose arrest led to the Los Angeles race riots has been convicted of "hit and run."

Rodney

The "black motorist" (actually, drunk driver) whose arrest led to the Los Angeles race riots has been convicted of "hit and run." Millionaire Rodney King, who previously cut up his wife in a fight over a boom box, and who has been arrested again and again for driving under the influence, picking up a transvestite prostitute, and trying to run over a cop, had his wrist slapped by a black jury for hitting his wife with his car, after shoving her out the door. The circumstances were not reported in the press, of course. He did not go to jail.

More News You Didn't Read

A black man was arrested for setting fire to a black church in Selma, Alabama. He had an argument with a church member (AP, 7/25/96). And remember all the hoo-ha over spraypainted swastikas on the doorways of black soldiers at Ft. Bragg? A black soldier is the prime suspect (AP, 7/24/96). ■

Continued from page 1

Kemp will get the blame. That's all to the good: the big-government conservatives, especially Kemp, need to be discredited once and for all. To start this joyful process, let's take a romp through some of Kemp's most outrageous views and antics of the last decade or so.

Kemp and Quotas

At a Heritage Foundation lecture three years ago, some innocent Republican pup asked Kemp what he thought of Tom Sowell's anti-affirmative action books. Kemp responded bitterly that we have no business talking about that issue until we understand the heroism of the civil-rights movement, and can honestly say we would have boycotted the buses in Montgomery with the great Martin Luther King. The chastened young man sunk back into his chair, while the rest of the

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young audience — all of whom fought charges of racism in college by referencing Sowell against affirmative action—just sat there bewildered.

What they did not know was that Kemp has long celebrated the centralizers and egalitarians in American history, while blasting Republicans for being on the "wrong side" of the 1960s civil rights revolution. He lends credibility to the leftist tale about race in America, and gets positively angry if anyone voices complaints about racial social engineering, or even suggests, as Alan Keyes did, that poor blacks need better values. "As a white, conservative (sic) Republican," he told Paul Gigot of the *Wall Street Journal*, "I can't go into the cities and preach about values."

Kemp cheerleads for the far-left racial agenda.

In July 1995, Kemp appeared at a breakfast hosted by the *Christian Science Monitor*, and the subject of affirmative action came up. The University of California regents had just voted to eliminate affirmative action. Kemp announced that they had made the wrong decision. Considering race is essential "as you try to broaden the base of economic opportunities." He added, "if '96 is run on dividing races I will not participate in that." (Query: why are special legal privileges for racial groups not considered divisive?).

Kemp's obsessive cheerleading for the far-left racial agenda reached the breaking point after the appalling verdict at the O.J. Simpson trial. Kemp appeared on "Meet the Press" to proclaim the verdict a victory. "I am convinced that a lot of the black experience, and a lot of black people, cheered for the reason that...this overturns 100 years of the lynch law."

A Tax Cutter?

The tax issue is the only one on which Kemp can plausibly be considered conservative. Kemp is supposed to add teeth to Dole's gummy claim of wanting to cut taxes. On the other hand, Kemp had a terrible National Taxpayer's Union record when he was in Congress because he believes in huge government spending. In a Kemp-Dole administration, we'd have Dole's terrible record on taxes combined with Kemp's big spending.

Yet even Kemp's reputation as a tax cutter is a misnomer. He is a caricature of a supply sider: reductions in marginal rates will cause economic growth, new government revenue (the key thing), and thus solve every existing social problem—and the rest of American socialism can be ignored. But notice that Kemp's tax ideology doesn't necessarily embrace an overall lower tax burden. Among all the supply siders, Kemp is the most convinced that lower tax rates will bring in more revenue, and thus more money for the government to spend.

A typical way his tax theories are applied is the enterprise zone, one of many Kemp legislative enthusiasms of the 1980s. The idea at first was to exempt poor urban areas from taxes to inspire economic growth, an idea which is not in itself objectionable (although why other areas should be proportionally punished is not clear). But in Kemp's hands, enterprise zones became magnets for vast new government spending, redistributionism, and social planning.

But let's say we create the perfect enterprise zone. Will that solve the problem of crime in the city? Kemp seems to think so. After the Los Angeles race riots, a response to the acquittal of the police who arrested Rodney King, Kemp (then HUD secretary) went on the "MacNeil/Lehrer Newshour" to explain away the arson fires that burnt 10,000 buildings and killed 58 people. "When families don't have a stake in a neighborhood and live on the welfare plantation...you get hopelessness and despair."

After several high-profile press shows in Los Angeles, strutting around with "community leaders" and attempting to make Bush look out of touch, he headed back to HUD and started signing checks. He released $6 million in tax dollars to two organizations that pledged to work with the AFL-CIO to "rebuild" the burned out area. "Today's grant," he said, "offers a fitting symbol of all we have worked to accomplish."

He said that the riots could have been prevented by designating Los Angeles's poorest areas as enterprise zones. Trouble was, they were already designated as such, but Kemp didn't know it. The zone covered the South Central Los Angeles area that the mobs reduced to ashes. California offered tax credits of $19,000 per new employee, sales tax credits on new machinery up to $1.2 million, tax incentives for lenders who make business loans, 15-year carry-over of net operating losses and depreciation, subsidized rents, and marketing assistance.

California's zone program was partly responsible for creating new minority-owned businesses in Los Angeles's poor areas. But the people who benefited were not Kemp's friends, but industrious Koreans who might have opened businesses anyway. Then 800 of their new enterprises were burnt to the ground.

Kemp has never explained how further tax cuts—as opposed to gun ownership by property holders and better police protection—would solve the problems of poverty and crime. In fact, Kemp supports bans on so-called assault weapons ("ban it any way you can," he told "Meet the Press").

Come on Over

Everyone who lives in border

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areas of the country knows that illegal immigration is a major source of crime and assorted social mayhem. But not only does Kemp favor loosening immigration restrictions; he wants present illegals to have an unlimited right to welfare. This became clear during California's 1994 debate on Proposition 187, which would have ended the practice of dumping some $2.4 billion in welfare per annum on California's illegals. Kemp jetted out to denounce the measure.

"For some," he told California voters, "immigrants have become a popular political and social scapegoat"—a smear of California voters. Prop. 187, the central initiative of the Republican Party, "corrodes the soul," Kemp said. Harold Ezell, coauthor of the measure, was bewildered, and offered this theory to explain their behavior: "Clinton must have written" Kemp's press release. Prop. 187 passed on a two to one vote.

This shouldn't have been a surprise to anyone who followed Kemp at HUD. He routinely signed off on block grants for housing for illegal immigrants. When one activist group called the Stamp Out Crime Council complained, he wrote them that "discrimination against illegal aliens...would frustrate the basic purposes" of HUD. No doubt. But during the Prop. 187 debate, he had the gall to claim the measure is not necessary since aid to illegals is "already illegal."

Hey, Big Spender

Kemp is a lover of government spending for just about any cause. In a 1993 "Meet the Press" interview, he endorsed spending increases in Head Start, the WIC food program, and the earned income tax credit. This caused Robert Novak to comment that these heresies—in addition to his ardent support of labor unions (he told the *Washington Post* that he is from the "Lane Kirkland wing of the Republican Party") — might have hurt his chances for 1996. His prospects have been sinking ever since.

It's no surprise that Kemp is also Mr. Voucher, a scheme that would not only blow tens of billions in another educational redistribution scheme, but also raise the prospect of nationalizing a part of the private-school sector. It's not hard to guess who Kemp thinks ought to be the prime beneficiaries of vouchers. They get to attend private schools at taxpayer expense, while the middle class continues to shell out its own money for tuition.

Dole has already endorsed vouchers, but as with most issues, one suspects his heart is not in it. Like his back-loaded tax cut, his support for vouchers would probably get lost in the shuffle if he actually became president. Now with Kemp, vouchers will continue to be an a priority in the Dole administration — and lead to de-Christianization of private schools, a wild demographic scrambling of students, and the creation of a government-dominated educational system from which there can be no escape.

Kemp's destruction of school districts would introduce fantastic chaos into the public school system.

But it's not only vouchers for private schools that Kemp backs. Like Clinton (and somewhat like Dole), he also advocates "choice" among public schools as well. For people whose children already attend private schools, this may seem like no big deal. Students would be free to attend any public school they wanted, introducing a modicum of competition into a frozen, socialist system.

But this take on the issue entirely misses the central point. Public school choice would mean the effective elimination of school districts, the system most every city and suburb in the country uses to bring some degree of rationality into their school systems. District lines assure that the student population is somewhat homogeneous, and that there can be some schools that create an actual learning environment.

The destruction of school districts would introduce fantastic chaos into the public school system, drive down property values, and cause national outrage. It would also require the federal government to ride roughshod over every local school board in the country. It wouldn't happen without some people going to jail.

Kemp at HUD

Nothing illustrates Kemp's socialistic ideology as well as his tenure as head of HUD from 1989-1992. Before he took the job, it was a commonplace on the right that HUD should be abolished. But no more. Kemp made the agency the fastest growing cabinet level department, increasing its budget by an astonishing 48 percent. The Democratic Congress was so astonished at his requests that they routinely cut them. President Johnson's HUD budget was a mere 2.5 percent of Kemp's last budget.

In 1991, the Democratic Congress saved taxpayers nearly half a billion dollars by cutting Kemp's demands. Kemp was especially wild on spending for the "homeless," which Congress also cut back an average of $100 million per year. Far from being embarrassed, Kemp wore it as a badge of honor and denounced the legislature. Overall, Kemp spent $1.3 billion on homeless programs. In 1992, he denounced Congress's budget for being too small: it was "on a collision course with very important housing needs in the future." Yet by the end

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of Kemps tenure, he had managed to balloon the agency into a vast and sprawling $28.1 billion monstrosity.

Kemp added more programs to HUD than any of his predecessors. One of his aides later told me this was because every new program meant another press conference and more praise from the media. But this pr came at a very high price. Kemp introduced HOPE (Housing and Opportunity for People Everywhere), PASS (Plan for Achieving Self-Support), HOME (which doesn't stand for anything), Revive, Restore, Operation Occupancy, Operation Take the Boards Off, Choice in Management, and Moving to Opportunity.

The last program pays poor blacks in the inner city to move to the suburbs. HUD picks up their moving expenses, finds them new homes, and pays their rent. Today's HUD head Henry Cisneros, whom Kemp praised and endorsed in Senate confirmation hearings in 1993, has used this program to great effect in Baltimore and Dallas, threatening to wreck whole suburbs with an immigration of crime and poverty.

Kemp claims he privatized public housing with his HOPE program. In truth, he didn't privatize a single project, while keeping the building schedule for new public units right on target. The most hilarious case of phony privatization was the Kenilworth-Parkside project in Washington, D.C., headed by HUD payrollee Kimi Grey (whom Kemp called "my hero"). Total renovation costs ran as high as $170,000 per apartment (the most expensive in HUD's history), and yet it never became private. Today, the project is again run into the ground. Meanwhile, one-third of HOPE's budget goes for new public housing.

Funding the Left

HUD has a lucrative fund for doling out money to left-wing nonprofit groups. Kemp used it to fund some of the worst, a crime for which he has yet to be held accountable. Among the organizations benefiting were: the Association of Community Organizations for Reform Now, or ACORN ($50,000), the Lawyers Committee on Civil Rights ($837,448), the American Association of Retired Persons ($149,510), the NAACP ($52,436), the National Federation for Neighborhood Diversity ($88,995), and the Urban Institute ($10,000,000).

Union Controlled

Kemp, the self-described Lane Kirkland Republican, used his power at HUD to grant favors to labor unions. He reclassified a series of public housing projects as "development" instead of "maintenance" so as to bring them under the Davis-Bacon Act, requiring the government to pay union wages, which are two and three times higher than market levels. The difference cost millions.

Kemp, the self-described Lane Kirkland Republican, used his power at HUD to grant favors to labor unions.

Kemp denied making the changes in a letter to Rep. Charles Stenholm, and only after bipartisan pressure, agreed to more flexibility in granting union contracts, but never acted on the promise. Kemp "repeatedly used the power of his office," says Reed Larson of National Right to Work, "to advance the interests of union officials at public expense."

All this follows from his term as Congressman from Buffalo, where unions were a potent voting bloc. His voting record shows consistent support for all union measures like closed shops, higher minimum wages, Davis Bacon wages, and international trade restrictions.

Can't Manage Either

When Kemp took over as head of HUD, he put into practice the age-old strategy of tarring the guy who went before. Samuel Pierce and his employees had left their offices thinking they would have several weeks to clean out their personal correspondence from their desks. But Kemp sealed the building and invited the press to go through the old records and the mountain of paper in the basement. The press took the ball and ran, as Kemp knew they would. (According to witnesses, Kemp carefully removed any materials dealing with contracts in his New York congressional district.)

HUDgate then became all the rage and Congress held hearings to root out corruption. Kemp loved every minute of it, and vowed to "restore honor and integrity at the Department." He even promised me personally to watch "every dime" to make sure none was misspent. Yet the six audits that took place during his tenure found persistent and systemic waste, fraud, and abuse. They found losses and misspent funds as high as a quarter of a billion dollars, and that 92 percent of people receiving housing vouchers had submitted improper applications. For example, in Washington, D.C., more than half of the 9,540 public housing residents owed back rent, with many owing more than $10,000. All reports concluded that only limited progress had been made in cleaning up HUD since the Pierce tenure.

Kemp, in short, was not only a big spender, but also a terrible manager. After a negative 1991 audit of the Federal Housing Administration by Price Waterhouse, Kemp refused to give Congress a copy and never released it to the public. But to protect himself from reprisals after the new regime arrived, he routinely celebrated Cisneros and gave tacit approval to his appointees, including the disgraceful Roberta Achtenberg.

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How did Kemp avoid scrutiny of HUD's mismanagement during his tenure? His personal style proved to be a useful distraction, and his press handlers worked overtime. A Washington Journalism Review story later marveled that he managed to avoid accountability for financial mismanagement that rivaled any in HUD's history. Republicans did not want to criticize one of their own, and Democrats were too bedazzled by the stupefying number of new programs that Kemp initiated to complain. In short, hardly anyone seemed to care that billions of taxpayer dollars were being ground up in HUD's corrupt, bureaucratic machinery.

The Last Straw

During this presidential campaign, Dole has done his best to sound like he knows the issues that matter to people. For example, Dole talks about the 10th amendment and states rights, while Kemp bitterly opposes both. Dole once sounded a skeptical note about the World Trade Organization. Kemp has never done so. He campaigned wildly in favor of both Nafta and Gatt, dubbing them as free trade instead of the central management they truly are. Dole has doubted the merits of unlimited immigration, whereas Kemp is utterly bonkers on the issue.

Without Kemp, there was a case to be made that a Clinton victory would be less bad than a Dole presidency, especially if the Republicans keep Congress. Conservatives—even some neocons—have been openly making that case. Since Dole picked Kemp, neoconservatives have stopped carping about the ticket. That's because the neocons would be treated very well by a vice president Kemp in terms of both appointments and access, and—they hope—by a president Kemp four years hence. Thus the *Wall Street Journal* has shifted from skepticism about the ticket to complete love.

The Randy Quarterback

Want to combat Jack Kemp and other Republican Mensheviks? Come to the RRR conference on October 25-26 in San Mateo, Cal. We'll even cover his coming bimbo erruptions. Phone 1-800-325-7257 to make your reservations.

Part of Jack Kemp's reputation is due to his socialism in Republican/tax-cut garb. The other part is due to his foreign-policy views. He epitomizes the worst sort of aggressive internationalism, favoring every manner of foreign aid and troops all over the world. The man who once chained himself to the fence of the South African embassy to protest apartheid has never met a foreign war he didn't like. In fact, war may be the ultimate danger of a Dole-Kemp administration.

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For any true man of the right, or anyone who would like to see an end to the welfare-warfare state, Kemp should be the last straw. He is worse than Colin Powell (the man Kemp actually supported for the Republican nomination, according to Christopher Caldwell of the *Weekly Standard*.). He is worse, even, than Bill Clinton.

Unlike a run-of-the-mill vp, Kemp would exercise undue influence in the Dole administration, and play up to Dole's worst big-government instincts. Under no circumstances can we allow ourselves to be ruled by a Dole-Kemp regime. It would mean the dictatorship of the most menacing social democratic element among the neoconservatives.

The Silver Lining

Despite what the media say, Kemp has plenty of enemies in the party, and Kemp's sudden new prominence may shock them out of their stupor. If there is really a possibility that the Republican Party could crack up this November, as Lew Rockwell suggests, there's no one better to head it than Jack Kemp, the tax-cutting Menshevik.

The Kempization of the Party will provide the incentive for gun advocates, Christian rightists, libertarians, anti-unionists, anti-immigrationists, and foreign-policy isolationists to go elsewhere, as they should. It may just be the impetus they need to bolt the Republican Party once and for all. If the GOP's "big tent" is destined to collapse, there's no one better to be standing under it than Kemp. If the party does not collapse—and it elites continue to ignore the views of its grass roots—it will be too left-wing for any true freedom lover to support.■

Mr. Tucker is editor of The Free Market.

Don't Vote for Dole

by Paul Gottfried

Having long considered doing an essay on why paleos should not vote for Dole, it is becoming apparent that this plea is becoming superfluous. Even with the addition of long-time paleo beté noir and neocon noisemaker Jack Kemp to the ticket, Clinton still retains the electoral edge.

Regardless, it is crucial that authentic conservatives and libertarians (as opposed to mere Republi-

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cans or neoconservative job-hunters) do not cave in and support Dole out of pity or misplaced hatred for Clinton. Such a gesture, if widespread, could contribute to dire consequences. Allow me to outline the reasons why I think this is so.

First, there is no value in attaching oneself to a sinking ship, particularly if it deserves to sink. Second, while Dole has spent a great deal of energy courting Powell and Kemp, he is merely using those on his right only to abandon them. During the Republican primaries, Dole sought aid from Christian right voters in the South, and with an assist from Ralph Reed, won over many of them in South Carolina, Georgia, and Virginia. But once the Christian vote was under his belt, Dole began to move in the opposite direction, expressing his openness to "tolerance" and pro-choice vice presidential candidates, and finally developing a new appreciation for affirmative action.

A Dole presidency could be worse for the real right than another four years under Clinton.

To be sure, Dole halted his leftward march long enough to pose for pictures with Cardinal O'Connor of New York. He also smiled beatifically while the Cardinal depicted him as an opponent of abortion. But the next day, Dole was wooing Colin Powell as a running mate. He courted the retired general furiously but Powell stayed away. He then picked the next best thing in Kemp, who, if possible, is even more self-consciously egalitarian.

Third, it might be argued that a Dole presidency would be worse for the real right than another four years under Clinton. The only "right" that Dole consistently accommodates is the neoconservatives. On June 21, the *Wall Street Journal* explained tendentiously as well as ungrammatically that "foreign policy conservatives are bolting the Clinton camp, endorsing Dole's campaign bid."

As one picked one's way through such newspeak, it became clear that neocon job-seekers, having been disappointed by Clinton's reluctance to employ them or seek their counsel, had turned their attention to Dole. Joshua Muravchik, Penn Kemble, Samuel Huntington, and "Reagan human rights chief" Richard Schifter are among those "conservatives" who have defected to the other side, after having previously gone over to Clinton in 1991 (an embarrassing point that the neocon *Journal* understandably omits).

A Dole-Kemp presidency featuring these global social democrats and hyper-Likudniks would be a raging bull internationally while being domestically indistinguishable from the present administration. It would likely be the worst of all presidential possibilities, combining liberal social policies at home with aggressive internationalism and selective appeals to "human rights" abroad. Dole-Kempism would be Clinton-Gorism with a vengeance, and inasmuch as it would be presented as Republican and "conservative," anyone who criticized it from the right would be branded as a kook.

Dole also seems to believe that he can win a sizable part of the Jewish vote by allying himself with Zionist hardliners. Whence another reason for his grabbing hold of neoconservative personalities. But here too he is stupid as well as opportunistic. In a poll, though about 35% of American Jews supported the Likud coalition of Netanyahu, more than 50% expressed sympathy for the Labor Party and its peacemaking efforts. Likud supporters include all of the Jewish conservative principals.

A cautionary tale may be in order to drive home these remarks. In a CNN interview conducted on July 14, Kemp tried to illustrate Dole's taking a moral stand. The example that came to his mind was the way Dole had vigorously sponsored the Martin Luther King national holiday. Unlike opposition to affirmative action, it was not something on which Dole had backed down.

Conservatives should leave it to liberals and neocons to reward Dole for his beau geste. Their own course should be to abandon him to his ungrateful friends on the left, and to await a Clinton victory with moderate expectations. A second Clinton terms is not likely to be worse than any term won by Dole; nor will it likely be described as the work of conservative Republicans reaching out.

Media Flames of Hate

by Hugh Murray

The politicians and media have stressed the alleged white racism behind large numbers of fires at black churches in recent months. Yet, in an Associated Press story by Fred Bayles (*Milwaukee Journal Sentinel* of 5 July 1996 on page 1), he acknowledges with the headline, "Arson study finds little racism proof."

More important is how the Clinton Administration and the media have manipulated this story by ignoring significant data. Thus, in October 1995, the day before the Million Man March on Washington, Malik Zulu Shabazz, a spokesman for Unity Nation declared in a speech televised nationally by C-

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Span, that he had a 'hit list' in his pocket of black Christian ministers who opposed his philosophy. He repeated his threat more than once during his oration. Has anyone bothered to ask Shabazz if any of the ministers whose churches were burned were on his hit list? Perhaps, black racism may be the source of some of these fires.

Surely, black racism is the source of other arsons. Detroit is slowly being razed every Devil's Night, when many blacks celebrate Halloween by torching buildings. And when a jury acquitted Los Angeles policeman of brutality charges after they sought to subdue Rodney King, the career criminal who had sped at over 100 mph inside the city and then refused to obey the officers, blacks showed their disapproval of the verdict by rioting, beating whites, Hispanics, and Asians, and by burning stores, especially those owned by Koreans.

Why should the burning of a black church by a white receive a heavier penalty than the burning of a Korean store by a black? And recall the black racist who set fire to Freddy's Jewish-owned store in Harlem, killing whites and blacks. The racist was upset because Freddy was not renewing a sublease to a black-run store. But the Jewish owner of FreddyUs was simply following the dictates of the owner of the building—a black church which wanted to evict the black store!

More people were killed during the fire at FreddyUs in Harlem than in all the church fires in recent years. More financial loss occurred during the Los Angeles riots than in all the church fires. So, why not focus on those black arsonists responsible for Freddy's and Los Angeles? Why, instead, has there been the focus on the church fires?

Arson is arson. Those who set fires to houses or to houses of worship, to stores or to store-front churches deserve to receive the same kinds of penalties, whatever the color of the arsonists. And whatever their color, they are all guilty of hate crimes.

The church-fire hoopla has been an attempt by liberals to make penalties for whites harsher than those for blacks, and to spotlight rare incidents of white racism, when the nation is wracked in the violence of black racists.

Hugh Murray wrote us this note from Milwaukee.

Bureaus Are Bureaus

by Llewellyn H. Rockwell, Jr.

A key part of the Pentagon's public-relations blitz since the end of the Cold War has been its supposed smart weapons. Though these hi-tech missiles and aircraft are hugely expensive, they held out the promise that a bureaucracy could innovate. Using lasers and "Stealth" technology, they would make wars easier to win and cost fewer American lives in the process.

Super-expensive smart bombs didn't perform any better than old-fashioned dumb bombs.

The Gulf War was a demonstration program for these "smart weapons." To get an idea of the cost, only 8 percent of the bombs dropped on Iraq were actually "smart," but they accounted for 84 percent of the expense. This fact alone raises questions, given every bureaucracy's propensity to spend more bucks for less bang.

But did these smart bombs work? The American people were told they did. The Pentagon released a Hollywood-style video of a smart bomb diving down the air shaft of a Baghdad building and blowing it to bits. The clip was shown again and again in the campaign to get billions more for such weapons.

But a new and still-secret report from the General Accounting Office has done to the Pentagon's claims what the bomb did to the Baghdad building. After four years of investigation, the GAO found that smart bombs didn't perform any better than old-fashioned dumb bombs.

Just after the war, for example, George Bush said the Patriot missile system had shot down 41 out of 42 Iraqi Scuds. A correction came from the Defense Department saying the record ranged from 40 to 70 percent accuracy.

Then the numbers really began to slip. Congressional investigators and independent researchers concluded that the Patriot may not have hit more than one target, a report never formally denied by the military. It appeared that the nation had been the victim of another bureaucratic hoax, along the lines of the NEA's claim to support only good art.

According to the GAO, the Patriot was not the only dud. Tomahawk missiles didn't live up to their billing either. For all the hype, "smart" technology wasn't capable of cutting through the fog, clouds, and smoke created by other bombs. And with tons of bombs dumped every day (as many as fell daily on Germany and Japan in World War II), pilots couldn't tell what they were hitting. For all the expense, the laser, electro-optical, and infrared guidance systems proved nearly useless.

The biggest scandal of all is the Stealth fighter. At a cost of $106 million per plane, it performed no better than any old regular jet. The Air Force claimed an 80 percent

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success rate; the GAO says it was closer to 40. Given this record, it doesn't make sense to waste $2 billion each on more Stealth bombers, which, despite the hoopla, have never flown in combat.

Yet the Defense Department (which ought to be called by its old name, the War Department) plans to spend another $58 billion on smart weaponry. How much is that? In 1966, when the Pentagon claimed to be fighting a global communist menace, it was the entire military budget. Fifteen years earlier, it was the entire federal budget.

In the military, as with the rest of government, words mean the opposite of what's in the dictionary.

In the military, as with the rest of government, words mean the opposite of what's in the dictionary. When the government says "investment," think waste; when it says "financial aid," think ripoff; when it says "smart," think stupid.

Before the Second World War, conservatives understood this. They were second to none in their skepticism of military bureaucracies. Since then, they have suspended critical judgment. Sure, welfare agencies are self-serving and wasteful, but military agencies defend us and never have enough money.

In truth, all government programs work badly. Employees are not paid according to their productivity, but by a pre-set pay scale. They have no incentive to keep costs down. Quite the opposite: spending the maximum amount ensures an equal or higher budget next year.

Unlike the private sector, there are no real consumers of what the bureaucracy produces. That means there is neither accountability nor a reliable method for maintaining quality. The private sector is always searching for better technologies, while public agencies are stuck in the same old rut. Change, much less useful innovation, is against the very nature of bureaucracy.

All of this is as true of the Pentagon as it is of the Post Office (excuse me, the Postal Service). For these agencies, public relations is more important than what they are supposed to be doing, whether delivering the mail or defending the country.

The communist menace is gone, but today the military budget is four and a half times what it was 30 years ago. That's what we'd expect from a government bureaucracy. Whether taxing us or handing out welfare, bribing foreign peoples or blowing them up, bureaucracies are always and everywhere the enemies of a free people.

Toss the TV

by L.H.R., Jr.

If you're like me, you have no idea what's on prime time. I long ago decided to wage my own private culture war by unplugging the television. If I had a left-wing dinner guest who also cursed and made incessant sexual cracks in mixed company, he'd be out the door. So it is with tv. Decent fathers struggle to make their homes a safe refuge from the rot outside; they don't invite network moguls to bring it back in.

But as bad as tv was the last time I saw it, it's apparently getting worse. Consider this roundup of the season's fare from the *Washington Post* (June 5, 1995):

"On the NBC sitcom 'Wings', a couple having sex are interrupted by a fire ignited by the bra that the female character has carelessly tossed near a fireplace. On CBS's 'Bless This House,' the lead actress talks about an acquaintance who wants her children to leave the house 'so she can do it on the coffee table.' Meanwhile, on 'Friends,' NBC's top-rated sitcom, a character watches Ross, one of the show's protagonists, skipping happily down the street and observes, 'Somebody got some last night.' To which Ross responds, 'Twice'.... [T]he cast of 'The Nanny' crack wise about oral sex while the single women on 'Cybill' trade quips about yeast infections well before it's dark outside." Then there's "'Third Rock from the Sun,' about a group of sex-crazed aliens."

This is what the *Post* admits to, so I assume the actual situation is a hundred times worse. What are conservatives doing about it? The Media Research Center looked at last year's fare and complained that in 72 half hour programs, there were 40 instances of sex involving unmarried partners, while only five showed sex between "married partners."

But this makes the dubious assumption that it's somehow more wholesome to observe married people having sex than unmarried people having sex. It makes the even more dubious assumption that the actors having sex are actually married! Is this what conservatives have been reduced to: moaning about the lack of marital sex on tv?

Conservatives are also pleased that the power of the networks has been reduced by the presence of competitors. The bad news is that 70 percent of homes have two or more tv sets, and 28 percent have three or more. This allows each family member to gawk at will. Again, there's only one solution: cut off the cable, take down the antenna, and hook your tv only to a vcr. Or do as the harder-core Russell Kirk once did, and literally toss the television out the window.

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Flight 800: The Price of Empire

by Justin Raimondo

The incineration of 230 passengers and crew aboard the Paris-bound 747 coincides with a foreign policy crisis fast developing in the volatile Middle East. As an orange fireball convulsed in a double death-agony in the sky over Long Island, and the same Islamic group that took credit for the Dharan bombing in Saudi Arabia almost immediately owned up to the downing of flight 800, a complicated diplomatic game was reaching a dramatic climax.

The half-mad and entirely senile King Fahd is at the center of a power struggle among several possible heirs; chief among them Crown Prince Abdullah, whose antipathy to the U.S. government is well known. Three times the King has packed his bags and gone to the airport with his retinue, bound for his palace in Spain. Three times he was called back by those who did not want him gone without some guarantee of their own power and privilege.

At the very moment of imminent crisis, the House of Saud is leaderless, as helpless as its monarch as it goes the way of the Pahlavis, the imperial house of Iran.

What is more than likely to rise in its place is an Iranian-style fundamentalist regime, but one with far more oil wealth, weaponry, and moral and religious authority than the mullahs of Teheran.

Tilting Toward Turkey

The developing crisis in the Middle East has illuminated one mystery. It has answered the question as to why Bill Clinton staked his presidency on the U.S. military intervention on behalf of Bosnia's Muslim government.

Against the fundamentalist upsurge, the great hope of the New World Order crowd—whose main goal is to keep those oil wells pumping for the Rockefeller world empire—is not the Saudis but Turkey, the model of Westernization.

Keep those oil wells pumping for the Rockefeller world empire.

Their alternative to Islamic fundamentalism is the brutal and genocidal regime of Kemal Ataturk, which stamped out religion and set up a military dictatorship very much like the one imposed by the Russians on the Afghanis.

This tilt toward Turkey as a bulwark against the fundamentalist onslaught was given a major jolt when the Islamic Welfare Party gained a plurality in the July 1996 elections and succeeded in forming a government after much maneuvering. This set off alarm bells in the State Department and the White House, signaling the possible collapse of their Middle East policy. For the Islamic Welfare Party victory endangered a key element of that policy: the Turkish-Israeli military alliance, concluded by the previous center-right government of the Motherland Party.

The announcement of this new level of cooperation coincided with a series of mysterious explosions in the vicinity of Damascus, the seat of the Syrian regime. Shortly afterward, a great amount of money seemed to be missing from the Turkish budget, a fact that eventually led to the downfall of the regime, new elections, and the triumph of the Islamic Welfare Party. Under the watchful eye of the militantly secular Turkish army, the Turkish Islamicists have been taken into a coalition with the former ruling party. The price of power, however, was to agree not to pursue the matter of the missing money.

While the Iranian connection is always assumed, and the blame has been put on Saudi dissidents, it could be that this latest act of terror is in retaliation for the Damascus bombings. Naturally, we know very little about those bombings; perhaps children were killed, innocents slaughtered, an entire high-school French club assassinated. If so, then the Syrians are the logical suspects, for Turkey is (rightly) seen by them as a cat's-paw for the United States.

Clinton's Bosnian crusade is meant to carve out a Turkish sphere of influence in the Balkans as a reward for taking on Syria. The key fact here is that Syrian dictator Hafez Al-Assad is Israel's main antagonist, and the chief obstacle to the dream of a Greater Israel championed by the newly-installed nationalist government of Prime Minister Netanyahu.

The Clinton Administration at-

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taches such importance to the Israeli-U.S. alliance that it was even willing to cooperate with the Iranians, at least to the extent of pretending not to know about their arms shipments to Bosnia, in order to strike at the Syrians. The fact is that the Syrians and the Iranians have long vied for the leadership of the various anti-Israeli militias in Lebanon, as well as for the spiritual and political allegiance of the Arab world, and no one should imagine that Israel would not align itself with Iran against the immediate threat of Syria. Geography is the key element in this covert alliance.

The Money Power

The elaborate game of geopolitical Risk being played by America's power elite is centered around the two pillars of our policy in the Middle East: the security of Israel and the protection of the oil fields, not necessarily in that order.

The issue is not whether the Western pipeline to Arabian oil is to be severed or even significantly constricted: no matter what regime follows the downfall of the House of Saud, its only market is the industrialized nations of the West and Japan. Absent the constant threat of war—and the criminal U.S.-U.N. sanctions against Iraq that keep its oil off the market and led to mass starvation in that country—the price of crude would plummet. In asking who benefits from the ongoing turmoil in the region, we are a long way toward identifying the source of the problem.

This perversion of our foreign policy has led us to sacrifice our soldiers on the altar of the decrepit and increasingly hated regime of the addled King Fahd. The American soldiers of Dharan died in the defense of a regime where Christians must pray in secret, and the display of the cross is forbidden by law. That the 230 people aboard flight 800 are the latest casualties of the war to protect and preserve the corrupt rule of the Saudi princes and the profits of their American investors and backers, is a fact that will soon dawn on the American people.■

The Quota Candidate?

The freak-packed Republican convention highlighted Colin Powell. Why? To groom him for the year 2000, for he is the dream of the elites: pro-welfare, pro-war, pro-affirmative action, pro-big government, looks good reading a speech, not very smart, and easily controlled.

If you haven't been caught up in the tolerance, sensitivity, and compassion of the GOP moment, read the truth about this illegal-immigrant loving, foreign-aid worshipping, government-adoring, CFR-belonging Manchurian candidate.

All the politically incorrect truths are in Justin Raimondo's latest book, *Colin Powell and The Power Elite*. It's $14.95 postpaid from the *RRR*. Phone 1-800-325-7257 to charge to your credit card.

P.S. This book was banned in San Diego by national Republican Party operatives. Find out why.

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